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244 *Kamusí* may be planted in June, July or August, and it takes the tubers three months to develop.

To plant sweet potatoes, the Isneg woman first gathers (*maggásad*) a certain amount of *kamusí*-vines (*zásad*), and then sticks them in holes made in the ground by means of the *paló-* (hoe) or of some kind of a dibble.

They need almost no care, and when the vines have produced young shoots (*otóń*) the tips of the latter are gathered (*manaxiotóń*; said also of cowpeas) for vegetables.

As soon as the tubers are sufficiently developed, the Isneg women start gathering them (*magkamusí*), according to their needs. The *kamusí* of a given field are rarely dug up (*ragkatán*; said also of yams, not of taro) all at a time.

Very few varieties are known. Here are the names of some of them:

The *kamusí áto* (literally: dog's sweet potato): Not much esteemed; its color resembles that of the yolk of an egg.

The *kamusí ilóko* (literally: Iloko's sweet potato): Good, even when eaten raw, but rather watery; its color is yellow.

The *pusiná-*: Very much esteemed; it is white, inside and outside.

4. SUGAR CANE

● 249 The Isneg plant sugar cane (*unát*), either to have a supply at hand for sucking the juice (*mańús*) from the culms, or to use it for the preparation of *básІ* (an alcoholic beverage used very extensively) or sugar (less frequently). A single stalk, whether in the *kọ́natán* (field of sugar cane) or near the house yard, is a *palbón*.

To plant sugar cane (*magtálad*), the Isneg first gather (*maxańtát*) a certain amount of *ańtát* (a section of a culm), obtained by lopping (*tagtaggán*) with a hatchet (*aliwá*) the leafy tops of the stalks. Then the women go to the field, armed with a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (*saguwá-* or *itutuná-*), make holes in the ground, and in each of these stick (*sulsúlan*) one cutting (*tálad*). Both *ańtát* and *sappí* (a sucker that grows at the base of a stalk) may be used for cuttings (*tálad*).

To make sure that the canes grow tall, a *labátag* is placed next to the first *tálad* (cutting) that is confided to the soil. The *labátag* is a herbaceous vine, with large round leaves, climbing on trees.

When the women come home after the first day of planting, they are not allowed to touch *báńa*-jars until the next morning.

The most important varieties of *unát* (sugar cane) cultivated by the Isneg are:

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The *baíyan*: Light-yellow skin, very tall, with large internodes. 249

The *bulálaw*: Light-yellow skin, the largest variety known in Apayaw.

The *burík*ān: Dark-violet skin with light spots, very thick.

The *lapít*ān: Light-violet skin.

The *loób* (pronounced *lóog* in Dangla): Similar to the preceding, but harder.

The *mommoná-*: Green skin, very [illegible].

The *saxádaw*: Yellow skin, very sweet.

The *síal unát*: Very slender, resembling the *síal* (Saccharum spontaneum, L.) in stalk and leaves.

As soon as the sugar cane has reached a certain height, the Isneg, more careful in this than are a good many other natives of the islands, bind the culms, lest they fall on the ground and their growth be impeded. This is done by men, and they proceed in one of the following ways:

They stick (*magbalutá-*) a prop (*balutá-*) of wood (sometimes a sapling) or bamboo in the ground in a convenient place, and tie (*maggabán*) the nearest stalks of sugar cane, several at a time, to the *balutá-* by means of strings (*zabán*).

They bind (*maggabán*) several stalks of sugar cane, without the use of a *balutá-*.

Strings that are very convenient for the purpose, are obtained from the bark of the *labdó*, a very common tree whose flower heads resemble the young globose fruits of the wild tomato.

To insure the rapid growth of the sugar cane, the Isneg place *alinuwauwdy* next to the first group of stalks they bind. The *alinuwauwdy* is a small zingiberaceous plant, with white flowers, climbing on trees.

When the sugar cane has almost reached its full maturity, all dry leaves (called *rámat*, when detached from the stalk) are torn off (*magrámat*). If the upper nodes (*bokó*) cannot be reached from the ground, the Isneg make use of a *saxakád*, which consists of three sticks bound in such a way as to suggest a stack of rifles and fixed in the ground.

A plantation of sugar cane is rarely kept intact until the end. Besides wild boars and wild cats, who are uncommonly fond of the sweet culms, the boys of the neighborhood use every opportunity for pilfering away an occasional stalk, in order to indulge in their favorite pastime of *mañús* (chewing sugar cane). The owners themselves,

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urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*aṅtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *unát* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambó*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múṅaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúṅaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúṅaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxunát*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxunát*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *unát* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *baláyaṅ* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish; eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráṅan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binaṅá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud* or *laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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241 The *laññá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated 824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *agláy* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naññá, bannuwáñ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *baxinát* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumáyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáñ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáñ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwañ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa, [283] Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piñpiñ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

247 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáñ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáñ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáñ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkallán*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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corn, but here it is usually reenforced with a *balakkuwit* (hoops of strips of bamboo).

Tobacco is sown in January or February, transplanted in March or April, and picked in April or May.

Tobacco seeds are sown (*magbonóbon*) in a small plot of ground set apart for the purpose. While the seeds are sprouting and the seedlings (*bonóbon*) are growing, the Isneg have ample time to prepare the field (*magbakáń*).

Besides the observation of the size of the seedlings, the natives possess a *taxímmatón* or sign for transplanting tobacco in the ripening of the small red fruits of the *diñánay*, a herbaceous vine found all over the district.

When the time for transplantation has come, the seedlings are grubbed up (*magba-dút*) and brought to the *bakáń*. Here they are thrust into holes (*magtuná-*) bored in the ground mostly by means of the *itutuná-* (dibble). Whenever possible the Isneg women use *itutuná-* made from *tálań* (pitch pine), because its sweet odor is supposed to influence the aroma of the tobacco.

One or more of the following amulets should be placed next to the first seedling (*bonóbon*) that is being transplanted (*magtuná-*):

Apnás: A very low herb with round leaves; it grows almost anywhere.

Aróro-: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small glossy entire leaves; it is found in rocky places.

Dalímag: A low herb; it grows in gardens.

Branches of *subráy*, a shrub with yellow-and-green leaves; it is cultivated for ornamental purposes.

Taxibáńon (incorrectly *taximbáńon*), *tagabáńon* (Bayag pronunciation) or *báńon*: An amaranthaceous herb, some three feet tall, with dark-red leaves, light-red underneath. It is cultivated for ornamental purposes, and planted (not simply placed) next to the first *bonóbon* in order to cause the tobacco leaves to take on the same hue and the stalks to grow strong. The same names sometimes refer to another amaranthaceous herb with small leaves of different colors, red, green and white, also cultivated and used for the same purposes, ornamental and magical.

To protect the tender seedlings from the scorching heat of the sun, they are covered with leaves of the *anitáp*, or, in places where the *anitáp* is taboo, they are surrounded by short sections of canes of

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitáp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappidán* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappidán* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakáu* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *daúlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimúñay (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padáyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dāyáwan*) the tobacco.

Dalúyāy: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrás* to drive them away. The *amrás* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakán*, for instance the *daméro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers. The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *anáy*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *palâyug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

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Tobacco leaves are always brought home by the women in huge baskets (*rañáya*), and piled up in some convenient place on the floor of the house, where very soon they will be submitted to further manipulations. When men carry tobacco leaves from one place to another, they make use of a *balitáñ*, lest they spoil them. The *balitáñ* is a device more or less in the shape of a hammock and consists of five sticks and a number of strips of bamboo: two St. Andrew's crosses (four sticks) are tied at the center to either end of a stick (the fifth one), and the strips of bamboo, running in the direction of the central stick, are tied at either end to the upper half of both crosses, covering the latter from one tip to the other. The *balitáñ* may be carried on the shoulders or set down on the ground (only the tips of the two lower halves of both crosses touching the ground) without danger of crushing any of the leaves.

While the women are busy bringing in the leaves, the men prepare strips of rattan, which they cut to a point at one end and provide with a knot at the other, and gather a few poles of light bamboo or bolo (*manaxiagdĕrăyān*: to gather bamboo poles for this purpose). Then both men and women cut off (*maxánit*) lengthwise a section of the lower part of the petiole of each tobacco leaf, by means of an *aliwá* (hatchet) or an *ikó*-knife. Hands of tobacco are prepared by spitting (*magkásip* or *magtabbá-*) the leaves, at the reduced end of the petiole, upon a pointed strip of rattan, pushing them all the time toward the knot at the other end of the latter.

Tobacco leaves are hung up to dry either in the house, under the roof, or else outside if the weather permits.

The hands of tobacco are hung (*magdĕrăy*) by the center on bamboo poles (*agdĕrăyān*), that rest at one end on one of the shorter tiebeams (the *sakkár*) of the house, and at the other on a pole that crosses the house and rests at either end on one of the longer tiebeams of the house. The hands are always kept at a reasonable distance from one another, so as to allow them to dry easily. They must be left like that (*dinĕrăy*) until they are completely dry (*maxáño*), because tobacco leaves that are not entirely dry (*asál*), get spoiled if they are piled up into bulks. The poles with the hands (*dinĕrăy*) attached to them are easily transferred from one place to another if necessary.

After the leaves have been thoroughly dried, and they happen to be too brittle to be piled up immediately, it is advisable to hang them outside for a while in the evening (*ilpáat*) so that they become soft.

The hands that are ready to be placed in bulks, are first taken off

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(*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyān*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldit*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldit*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annăp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, [272]
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [263]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412